DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 433 284 SO 031 033

AUTHOR Cohen, Benjamin A.
TITLE From "Muscular Christianity" to the "Cult of Efficiency": Inter-developments of Ideology and Violence Reflected in the Portrayal of Teachers in Three American Novels. Draft.
PUB DATE 1999-04-00
NOTE 11p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Montreal, Quebec, Canada, April 19-23, 1999).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Cultural Context; *Educational Change; *Educational History; Elementary Secondary Education; Ideology; Literary Criticism; *Novels; School Culture; *Teacher Role; Teacher Student Relationship; United States History; *Violence
IDENTIFIERS *Cultural Values; Updike (John)

ABSTRACT

Between the 1820s and 1950s, the ideology affecting education reform can be described in terms of morality (Protestantism), nationhood (republicanism), and productivity (capitalism). This paper traces the metamorphosis of the triad of values as it is reflected in the violence and teacher images portrayed in three novels: (1) "The Hoosier Schoolmaster" (Edward Eggleston) (set in 1851); (2) "The Centaur" (John Updike) (set in 1947); and (3) "The Blackboard Jungle" (Evan Hunter) (set in 1950). Violence is examined in the paper because it is a common element in each of the novels, although the degree of violence varies. The novels discussed in the paper are not representative of the society in which they were written, but serve as self-contained cultural vignettes. The paper addresses approximately 100 years of U.S. history, a time span difficult to completely capture in the reflections of only three novels. The ideological context of any era is complex and difficult to grasp. While morality, nationhood, and productivity effectively capture many of the ideological shifts described in the paper, other categories may be valid. Other veins of ideological thought may influence an understanding of these novels. The novels examined in the paper do not evidence the success of Progressive education; instead, the novels portray teachers as confronting students. However, two broader lessons result from this study: first, current debates about violence in schools are informed by this study, and second, pathways are opened to study images of teachers and schools that have become more widespread with the use of television and film. Includes 27 notes. (BT)

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From "Muscular Christianity" to the "Cult of Efficiency": Inter-developments of Ideology and Violence Reflected in the Portrayal of Teachers in Three American Novels

By

Benjamin A. Cohen

(Draft)

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B. A. Cohen
University of Maryland

From 'Muscular Christianity' to the 'Cult of Efficiency'[1] Inter-developments of Ideology and Violence Reflected in the Portrayal of Teachers In Three American Novels

> Suppose that in some freak disaster of the future, all conventional historical records were destroyed and only novels and short stories survived. How much would it be possible to learn about American history ... from fiction alone...?[2]

Teacher images in literature must be understood in terms of the ideological milieu in which the images are composed. Between the 1820s and 1950s, the ideology affecting education reform can be described in terms of three categories: morality (Protestantism), nationhood (republicanism) and productivity (capitalism). This triad formed the basis of school reform both in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, albeit in different forms[3] and with different emphases upon each of the three values over time. As the ideological foundation behind education reform, these values supplied order in American schools. In the nineteenth century the triad emphasized morality based on Protestantism, common to many in the population. In the twentieth century, however the triad came to emphasize productivity more than morality. While morality was not absent in twentieth century education reform, it was overshadowed by notions of productivity.[4] The shift from morality to productivity can be explained largely as a result of increased diversity among Americans, leading to the decline of consensus around a Protestant morality and the rise of alternate philosophic perspectives (e.g. Existentialism) combined with the economic collapse of the Great Depression. Economic, demographic and philosophic changes required the ideologies guiding America to adapt to new social circumstances.

This paper traces the metamorphosis of the triad of values as it is reflected in the violence and teacher images portrayed in three novels: Eggleston's *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* (set in 1851), Updike's, *The Centaur* (set in 1947) and Hunter's *The Blackboard Jungle* (set in 1950). Violence is examined in this paper because it is a common element in each of the novels, although the degree of violence varies. Conceptions and manifestations of violence also vary according to the implicit values of the historical period in which the novels are set, making expressions of violence useful exemplars of changes in values over time. As a working definition, violence is understood in this paper primarily as physical acts intended to harm or abuse. Secondarily, cases of nonphysical violence, in which vehement expressions toward another are exercised, are also described and examined.

The relationships between violence and morality, nationhood and productivity, provide a framework to examine the teacher image in literature. When morality is emphasized with the triad, violence has a definite purpose, usually for those who subscribe to that morality. When morality is not emphasized, violence becomes purposeless, allowing chaos to erupt when it is used. *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, a novel from the nineteenth century, portrays a teacher using violence to maintain order in schools (building good character and morality and fostering determined public effort). *The Centaur* and *The Blackboard Jungle*, both written in the twentieth century, portray teachers as victims of violence leading to disorder in schools (showing disrespect for property and authority, and leading to a decline in morality). The historical trend examined in

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[1] The title of this paper is based on descriptions of nineteenth century teaching in Alfred Holbrook's, *Reminiscences of the Happy Life of a Teacher* (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Co., 1885), p. 95 and in Raymond Callahan's *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* (Chicago:1962).

[2] Nelson Manfred Blake, *Novelists' America; Fiction as History, 1910-1940,* (Syracuse: 1969) 254.

[3] Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic; Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (Hill and Wang: 1983), 75-103.

[4] Other ideology affecting education was also present in the early twentieth century; it is discussed in the concluding remarks of this paper.

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this paper is the shifting ideological triad of morality, nationhood and productivity as portrayed through fictional violence.

A study of three fictional historical depictions such as this has many limitations. Primarily, the novels discussed in this paper are not representative of society in which they were written; they serve as self-contained cultural vignettes. Second, this paper addresses approximately one hundred years of American history, a time span difficult to completely capture in the reflections of only three novels. Third, the ideological context of any era is complex and difficult to fully grasp. While morality, nationhood and productivity effectively capture many of the ideological shifts described in this study, other categories may be valid. Also, other veins of ideological thought may influence one's understanding of these novels. Despite these limitations, each novel is indicative of the values which contextualized the authors' worlds. Blake has described clearly the value of novels as historical evidence:

> As witnesses to history, novelists have certain great assets and certain serious liabilities. However, they do often treat just the right thing that the student of history would like to know… …[and] it must be conceded that the novelist looks at life from a special viewpoint. He differs from other people in his creative impulse, his imaginative powers, and his verbal skills. His writing is more like portraiture than photography, because it suppresses the less important details to emphasize the dominant qualities.[5]

Part I: *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* and the mid-Nineteenth Century

During antebellum America a homogeneous moral and civic code aimed to produce "providential prosperity." This code, a "Protestant-republic ideology," unified various Protestant sects in a common aspiration toward good citizenship. It also helped common school promoters persuade Americans to support public education as a tool to spread the widely held moral and civic values to children and their families across the country, even in remote and isolated communities. Curricula at this time were essentially moral, and schools were to reflect this morality by being orderly places. Schools taught children to be "literate, temperate, frugal, hardworking, and good planners…" Leaders of the common school movement promoted "civilized order and morality."[6] One leader of common schools posted the following rule on his school wall:

> ORDER IN SCHOOL
> There is nothing like Order in School. Students should always be orderly, and when any one is Speaking, they should pay strict attention to all that is said and be as quiet as possible. They should be facing their teacher…They should try to obey all the rules and be able to answer perfect every evening.[7]

Thus, the moral emphasis, more than nationhood and productivity, was clear and prominent in the nineteenth century. Edward Eggleston, author of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*,

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[5] Blake, *Novelists' America*, 4.

[6] David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (Basic Books: 1982). Chapters one through four were very useful in understanding the importance of morality in the common school movement.

[7] Tyack and Hansot, p 25-26 quoting the O. C. Applegate papers.

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experienced this morality through his childhood, his career as a preacher and finally his work as a reporter and author; morality was not only omnipresent in Eggleston's world, it was explicitly a guiding principle in day to day life. Interestingly, Eggleston grew to disdain the moral didacticism so often forced upon him as a child.[8]

Based upon Eggleston's first-hand experience, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* is set in rural Indiana in 1851,[9] where the teacher Ralph Hartsook is an isolated teacher relatively subordinate to the wills and whims of the community. Immediately upon his arrival at the town of Flat Creek, Hartsook is introduced to the community's perspective on education. Hartsook is told about the last two schoolmasters driven away by unruly school boys, "Why, the boys have driv off the last two, and licked the one afore them like blazes … … the last master had a black eye for a month." Children stand by and giggle at the prospect of "lickin'" another teacher while the members of the education committee "[spit] in a meditative sort of way."[10] Children and adults size up the physical prowess of Hartsook.

The Flat Creek perspective is further evident on a hunting trip Hartsook takes with two townsmen and their dog. After the hunting trip, Hartsook plans his pedagogical tactics according to the physical aggressiveness and fearless disposition of the bulldog; the hunt and the qualities of wild animals being instructive for him. Such aggressive qualities are taken for granted by the community, as evidenced by one citizen's description of the pedagogical mantra of Flat Creek:

> 'Don't believe he'll [Mr. Hartsook] do,' was Mr. Pete Jones's comment to Mr. Means. 'Don thrash enough. Boys won't l'arn 'less you thrash 'em, says I. Leastways, mine won't. Lay it on good is what I says to a master. Lay it on good. Don't do no harm. Lickin' and l'arnin' goes together. No lickn' no l'arnin', says I. Lickin' and l'arnin', lickin' and l'arnin', is the good ole way.'[11]

That teachers used violence as a form of control, to maintain order and uphold values, is consistent with the morality of the day; as a result physical punishments were omnipresent across regions and across different types of schools at the time this novel takes place.[12] Hartsook's practice of corporal punishment comes in the form of a prank against a student who tried to send the schoolmaster falling into a pond. In using corporal punishment, Hartsook quickly adopts the community's perspective concerning ways of handling unruly students. But he also uses corporal punishment to uphold values and maintain order, since the punishment was accompanied by a lesson in morality:

> Ralph [Hartsook] made some remarks by way of improving the occasion. He spoke strongly of the utter meanness of the one who could play so heartless a trick on a schoolmate. He said that it was as much thieving to get your fun at the expense of another as to steal his money…The master wound up with an appropriate quotation from Scripture. He said that the person who displaced that board had better not be encouraged by the success….For it

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[8] Randel, *Edward Eggleston, Author of The Hoosier Schoolmaster* ( ), p9-11.
[9] Eggleston notes on p 281 that *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, written in 1871, was based on events occurring twenty years earlier.
[10] Edward Eggleston, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* (Eggleston: 1913), chapter 1.
[11] Eggleston, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*, 53.
[12] Barbara Finkelstein, *Governing The Young, Teacher Behavior in Popular Primary Schools in Nineteenth-century United States*, (Falmer Press: 1989), 95. Carl Kaestle described that during the nineteenth century reformers began to urge for moral persuasion as a form of discipline yet physical discipline was ultimately acceptable.

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> was set down in the Bible that if a man dug a pit for the feet of another he would be very likely to fall in it himself.[13]

Hartsook's use of violence is closely linked to a moral lesson and reflects the symbiotic relationship between physical brawn, punishment and moral learning – termed "muscular Christianity" by one New England contemporary of Eggleston's. In this particular case, violence is both the means and the substance of the lesson. Hartsook's biblical reference describes an act of violence itself.

Eggleston's chapter "Ominous Remarks of Mr. Jones" describes Hartsook's struggle over divulging his observation of a robbery, at which time he decides that, "Moral questions [were]... postponed for careful decision."[14] For Hartsook, his decision to tell what he witnessed or keep a secret balances violence and morality – it is the fear of the thieves' revenge that prevents Hartsook from coming forward with his knowledge of a crime. Morality ultimately wins, however, as Hartsook testifies before a court and is indirectly rewarded by becoming principal of the prestigious Lewisburg Academy. Clearly, violence is to be wielded only by those with good moral purpose and not by those who sin! Control of schools is ultimately given to Hartsook, who in his new role as principal can continue to exercise proper moral behavior, and if need be, apply violence to ensure moral success.

In summary, the moral code that predominated in the nineteenth century is transmitted by the teacher, both through violence and through conversation. Controlling students and imparting morals to them requires the teacher to be a strong-handed figure who exercises corporal punishment – a qualification expected by parents and students alike, both in the novel and in daily accounts of the teaching life.[15] While telling much about the role of schools in imparting morality, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* also reflects the difficulties in transporting the common school ideology to every remote community in the young nation, particularly those in the west

With morality the most explicit of the triad of values apparent in schools during Eggleston's time, the teacher image in *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* reflects society's sanction to use violence to maintain order in schools. Ultimately, Hartsook is shown to have enough control and bring sufficient order to the school to become a principal by the novel's end. While students also exercise violence, they are unable to topple Hartsook. The students are lower in hierarchy compared to the teacher; the teacher maintains control, especially when using violence.

An actual teacher's method of maintaining control provides a prophetic introduction to the twentieth century, as it suggests the emphasis upon accounting and efficiency that was soon to come:

> To develop scrupulous honesty and a high sense of honor we kept a record of our deportment and reported the exact percentage in response to roll call at the end of each day.[16]

Little did this teacher realize that within the course of a few decades violence in classrooms would change from being a means of controlling students to a very disruptive force in schooling, and that accounting, not catechisms, would be more central to schools.

Part II: *The Blackboard Jungle* and *The Centaur* in Post War America

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[13] Eggleston, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* 68.
[14] Eggleston, *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* 106.
[15] John Vance Cheyney: "Autobiography, pp. 73-4, Library of Congress Manuscript Collections, John Vance Cheyney papers. (1867).
[16] In Henry Johnson, *The Other Side of Main Street, A History Teacher from Sauk Centre* (New York: Columbia University Press: 1943), 34.

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B. A. Cohen
University of Maryland

In the early twentieth century ideological patterns became established in school reform that continued into the post war era and beyond. These patterns included the rise of productivity and efficiency as dominant forces in schools, replacing the explicit and prominent moral agenda of schools in the nineteenth century. Productivity and efficiency came to dominate education leadership, to affect the structure of schools, and to encourage large educational bureaucracies and an emphasis upon scientific expertise in teaching and learning.[17] When applied, the idea of productivity made education something to be efficiently implemented by specialists in bureaucratic-oriented schools, and made teachers assume a more mechanized, technical role, rather than be moral arbiters.[18] This new structure of education reform was what Higham called a, "...a reordering of human relations by rational procedures designed to maximize efficiency. Technical unity connects people by occupational function rather than by ideological faith." [19]

These transformations left teachers with less authority than they had previously, for more decisions were made in bureaucracies, and morality, which was earlier possessed at an individual level, was demoted relative to efficiency. With these developments, the emphasis applied to the triadic components of morality, nationhood and productivity evolved. As the central focus on a shared morality waned in schools, new possibilities for opposition emerged. In the twentieth century violence became a means by which opposition was manifest and control was lost in schools, a development apparent in *The Blackboard Jungle* and *The Centaur*.

In *The Blackboard Jungle*, the teacher-character Rick Dadier is initially optimistic and enthusiastic about teaching.[20] However, when Dadier meets his fifth period class the students challenge him with brazen attitudes. One asks, "You ever try to fight thirty-five guys at once, teach?" Dadier rationalizes the students' challenges as a normal test of a novice teacher. Yet Dadier's naiveté is quickly undermined when he encounters a student (Douglas Murray) attempting to rape another teacher . Dadier defends the teacher, and Murray is arrested and convicted. While other teachers respect Dadier's valiance, students rumor that Dadier unfairly maimed the perpetrator, or even that Dadier was the rapist .

The principal of Manual Trades High, where Dadier teaches, subsequently describes the attempted rape as, "an unfortunate incident...One of our boys decided he was out in the streets...Criminal charges have been pressed against him. I think you know what this means." (89) Instead of morally condemning the attempted rape the principal describes it with guarded euphemisms. What little moral authority the teacher image may possess for students is undermined by the principal. Principal Small fails to demonstrate moral authority even in extreme cases of violence, such as attempted rape. The students never learn a moral lesson from the principal, leaving the teacher with less moral foundation to stand on. Consequently, the students develop their own morality:

> If it happened to Murray, who was just one of the guys, why couldn't it happen to any one of them? You get the bastards like Dadier fouling up the detail, and you get a hot-shot like Small

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[17] Tyack and Hansot, *Managers*... 63-71.

[18] Joel Spring, *Educating the Worker Citizen; The Social, Economic, and Political Foundations of Education* (Longman: 1980), 88. Spring writes, "As the teacher training curriculum became more diffuse, the content of courses in methods of instruction came into conflict with the professional values and independence of teachers. One of the attempts since the early part of the twentieth century has been to reduce classroom teaching to a series of technical steps governed by something called "science of education."

[19] Higham, "Hanging Together: Divergent Unities in American History," *Journal of American History* (v61).

[20] While it was set in the 1950s, the fictional Manual Trades High School still operated according to the systematized, efficiency-oriented production model of schooling firmly established at the turn of the century.

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> who condones such horse manure, and next thing you knew they'd all be in reform school.[21]

The image of the teacher as the source of morality is lacking in *The Blackboard Jungle*. While Dadier struggles to be a good teacher, the students eclipse morality, and wielding violence, define themselves with their own sense of right and wrong. Dadier realizes the breach he made with the students when he reflects on defending his colleague. Consequently, the teacher and students are oppositional and confrontational with one another, in a manner far different from the simple confrontations described in *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*. In response to Dadier's intervention in the rape, a group of students brutally attack Dadier and his colleague as they head home, "You had to hand it to Daddy-oh because he went down swinging all the way….he kept swinging until they dragged him down to the pavement and gave him four sharp blows to the stomach…"(121) This attack re-establishes the *modus operandi* of the teacher-student relationship as students avenge the incarceration of one of their peers and restore their right to exercise violence without sanction. "This is for Douglas Murray, you bastard…" (119) one student says as he strikes Dadier.

The students' use of violence and the development of a distinctive ethos that opposes Dadier, the principal, and the school, reflects their departure from the shared morality of schools that students in the nineteenth century clearly understood. The student ethos in *The Blackboard Jungle* also reflects the impersonal, mechanized nature of twentieth century school reform, which limited meaningful personal contacts between staff and students and valued bureaucracy and efficiency over the quest for moral goodness. As a result of the loss of moral focus, students are able to rationalize beating their teacher, the teacher is unable to exercise control over his students, and control and order is lost, both on the part of the teacher and the students at the school.[22]

The novel's climax begins when Dadier responds to a student's brazen insubordination by grabbing the student's collar. Immediately Dadier pauses to second guess his actions, and the student responds, "…ain't nice for teachers to hit students like that, Mr. Daddy-oh,..." (306-07) The violence intensifies, a knife fight results, and only when students ultimately help Dadier does the confrontation end. Dadier must then decide either to acknowledge his students' help by letting the offenders free or to take them to the principal,

> It would make things a hell of a lot simpler if he just sent all the kids to lunch and forgot all about Belazi and West. It would make things simpler the way things would have vastly simpler had he not interfered in that rape so long ago. It would be easy, so easy to say, 'Allright, let's just forget all this,' and then go back to teaching…(314)

Dadier's struggle is crucial in underscoring the indefinite state of morality in *The Blackboard Jungle*. Had such a confrontation occurred in antebellum America the moral consequences would be clear. That Dadier ultimately takes the students to the principal is inconsequential, for the fact the it "would have been vastly simpler had he not interfered" is a strong indication of the moral haziness of the 1950s.

In the closing pages of *The Blackboard Jungle* Dadier's colleagues joke about his climb into the principal's position given his heroic feats at North Manual Trades. His colleague says, "He's a professional hero." (319) Dadier's response is that he's just a teacher. Dadier's modesty is perhaps with colleagues is perhaps the only opportunity he has to exercise moral behavior in

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[21] Hunter, *The Blackboard Jungle* 89.

[22] The case of Leonard Covello, a New York City teacher who organized his own school, has some similarity to Dadier's struggle to improve the "efficient" school and make it personally relevant to the minority students inside it.

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the school *without losing control*. The idea of a "professional hero" is missing from the next teacher image examined in John Updike's work.

In *The Centaur* the teacher image is morally vapid, sometimes violent, and out of control. The first pages of the novel open with a violent attack on the teacher and demonstrate how violence is central to this image:

> Caldwell turned and as he turned his ankle received an arrow. The class burst into laughter. ... The laughter of the class...seemed to crowd against him ... Several of the boys in their bright shirts all colors of the rainbow had risen upright at their desks, leering and baying at their teacher... Caldwell limped to the door and shut it behind him on the furious festal noise. [23]

This opening passage exemplifies the teacher falling victim to an unchecked group of students relishing the hedonistic attack they inflicted. Needless to say there is little control. The archer's attack and Caldwell's reaction are analogous to Woodburn's 1856 reminiscence of teaching, "And though [the teacher] may be a target for many to hurl their missiles of malice at yet he should not swerve...but go straight forward in the discharge of his duty..."[24] Instead of remaining in class to defend himself and any moral code, Caldwell flees to a friend outside of school where he recuperates, clearly short of Woodburn's nineteenth century expectations. When he returns to his classroom, Caldwell begins his lesson again, pandemonium once more swells, and finally Caldwell strikes, "He picked the shining arrow-shaft from the top of his desk, strode forward through the sickening confusion of books being slammed shut, and once, twice, whipped, whipped, the bastard beast's bare back (40)."

Caldwell's actions are quickly criticized while the students' transgressions go unsanctioned. In a memorandum subsequent to these violent events, Caldwell's principal cites him for his use of corporal punishment (86). The memorandum is consistent with the impersonal nature of efficient school operation – not only is the students' disrespect for their teacher unchecked but Caldwell is cited for arriving to class late, wholly indicative of the efficiency principals were supposed to enforce. The memo lacks any moral message. The students' transgressions are clearly in need of correction yet are overlooked by the leader of the school.

The principal's oversight of students' transgressions mirrors the lack of personal focus that was consequent to increasingly large school systems. Yet despite the personal connection Caldwell and his principal have with each other, or with their students, the students are not depicted as cohesively as those in *The Blackboard Jungle*. Consequently they do not undermine the teacher's authority as much. However, the principal's memorandum undermines Caldwell because Caldwell's attempts to restore order is seen as a grounds for dismissal.

Updike's choice of words suggest the breakdown of Caldwell and his school. Their violent and fatalistic connotation contrast with the idealistic moral goals that were clearer in the nineteenth century. Caldwell refers to Olinger High School as a "slaughterhouse" and a "hate factory"(56) and says that his class of students is like the face of death (73). School and teaching is a life and death struggle for Caldwell, and his students are his enemies.[25] His son Peter observes the "sickening duet" between students who attack and mock Caldwell and his father's struggle to survive the "slaughterhouse," (79) and it is this duet which ultimately takes its toll on Caldwell. Caldwell expresses his desperation with extreme solutions to his problems, "Kill

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[23] John Updike, *The Centaur* (Ballantine, 1993), 9.
[24] Woodburn, p 232.
[25] Caldwell's fate is similar to the mythological Chiron, who struggled to teach his students, yet ultimately sacrificed himself to release Prometheus.

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me…That's the cure-all. Kill me." (106) Violent connotations like these summarize Caldwell's fatalistic world view, developed in part as a response to his desperate and ineffective attempt to gain control over unruly students through the use of violence. Neither the language of violence, nor its manifestations in Updike's portrayal of the classroom, reflect the reduced importance of morality in the face of efficiency.

The overall image of Caldwell is a morally confused and non-authoritative teacher. He is a teacher who cannot control his class, who is unsupported by his principal, who is separated personally from his colleagues and who adheres to a fatalistic view on teaching and on life in general. This characterization yields an image of a teacher out of control of his classes and of his own self in understanding his role as a teacher.

Conclusion: Ideological Transformations and the Morality of Violence in Education History

The portrayals of teachers in two twentieth century novels reflect the decline of morality as a guiding principle in schools, the rise of efficiency in place of it, and teachers' loss of control. These developments are evident in the violence depicted in the novels. Conversely, one portrayal of a nineteenth century teacher reflects the link between morality and violence, the use of violence as a means to classroom order and the progress of a teacher who uses violence in his class.

Teacher images in each of the three novels provide useful cultural evidence to understand the ideological framework in which they taught. Caldwell and Dadier cannot control their students, classes or their work environment. The teacher images apparent in *The Blackboard Jungle* and *The Centaur* reflect the removal of teacher authority in post-war schools as a consequence of bureaucracy and efficiency-related reforms begun at the turn of the century. Combined with a decline of a moral agenda in school, Dadier and Caldwell cannot maintain control. Conversely, Eggleston's *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* provides an image of a teacher in control. The image of Ralph Hartsook reflects the control possible when society's moral goals were clearer and school structures had fewer bureaucratic infringements. These conditions allowed Hartsook to access the concepts and tools necessary for maintaining order in his classroom.

It is important to note that the ideology emphasizing productivity and efficiency in education was not the only one prominent in the early twentieth century. Running parallel to it was Progressive ideology that stressed democracy. For Progressive educators, schools were to function as great liberators from the problems of industrialization. Progressive education philosophy intended students to solve unique problems independently with teacher guidance and conceived of schools as small democratic communities.

The novels examined in this paper do not evidence the success of Progressive education. Instead, the novels portray teachers as confronting students. Efficient and productive high schools and their accompanying bureaucracy triumph. A phenomenon parallel to such events in education was observed by Gabriel Kolko. In *The Triumph of Conservatism* he underscores the use of politics by business as evidence of the control conservatives had over regulatory reform.[26] Just as industry leaders shaped economic policies, education leaders shaped education policy after the turn of the century. Consequently the ideas of productivity are shown to triumph in twentieth century novels just as they do in Kolko's analysis of the same era.

Two broader lessons result from this study. First, current debates about violence in schools are informed by this study. Queries about the larger ideological framework in which violence may be placed are necessary before judging the extent to which violence is a problem. This context is rarely referred to in media reactions to school violence. Second, this study opens pathways to study images of teachers and schools that have become more widespread with the use of television and film. Future investigations of teacher and school images, on television and

[26] Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism* (Quadrangle Books: 1963), 2-3.

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on film, may be related to the content and structure of education policy making. One eminent political scientist has realized this connection, claiming that the:

> "catalogue of conceptions and perceptions stemming from works of art…[as exerting] the fundamental influence on political maneuvering and its outcomes."[27]

Edelman's observation helps place studies of teacher images into the context of educational policy. Future research that relates education policy to teacher images will make the important link between culture and politics that Edelman refers to. More importantly, it will enrich policy studies by enriching them with a wealth of cultural and historical information.

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[27] Murray Edelman, *From Art to Politics, How Artistic Creations Shape Political Conceptions* (Chicago, 1995).

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